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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 PARIS 07031

LIMDIS

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UNESCO, AORG
SUBJECT: UNESCO FUNDING: SPRING MEETING OF EXECUTIVE
BOARD

REF: (A) STATE 50741, (B) STATE 284172, (C) NAIROBI
13208, (D) PARIS 00673, (E) PARIS 3144
(F) PARIS 3550,

SUMMARY: DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOW WOULD PROBABLY NOT
RESPOND FAVORABLY TO A SUGGESTION THAT HE SUPPORT A
MOVE TO LIFT THE SANCTIONS RESOLUTION AGAINST ISRAEL AT
THE SPRING BOARD. M'BOW WOULD FEEL THIS JEOPARDIZES
HIS THIRD WORLD BASE. THE GENERAL FEELING, SHARED ALSO
BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, MARTIN (UK) IS THAT THE
SPRING SESSION SHOULD BE KEPT CALM, RON POLITICAL AND THE
AGENDA SHOULD NOT BE EXPANDED. ACTION MAY BE POSSIBLE
AT A LATER TIME IF CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE. MOVES
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TOWARD "DEPOLITIZATION" MIGHT ALSO BE POSSIBLE AT A
LATER SESSION, BUT THESE WOULD REQUIRE CAREFUL, THOROUGH
AND COMPLETE PREPARATION. THE STRONG SUPPORT OF OUR
WESTERN ALLIES IS ESSENTIAL. UNILATERAL ACTION BY THE
US WOULD PROBABLY NOT SUCCEED. THIS PROCESS WOULD BE
A LONG ONE EXTENDING OVER AT LEAST TWO BOARD SESSIONS.
THE SPRING BOARD IS THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NEW 45

MEMBER BOARD, IT IS UNTESTED, PERSONALITIES ARE UNKNOWN, LEADERSHIP HAS NOT YET BEEN FIRMED UP AND IT IS NOT AN OPPORTUNE MOMENT TO INITIATE CONTROVERSIAL PROPOSALS. IN THE LONG RUN, US INFLUENCE, INCLUDING OUR ABILITY TO INITIATE AND SUCCEED WITH NEW PROPOSALS, WILL INCREASE WITH ONLY THOROUGH, SERIOUS, WELL THOUGHT OUT US CONTRIBUTIONS TO AND PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO'S ON GOING PROGRAMS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN THIS ANALYSIS WE WILL FIRST RESPOND TO THE QUESTIONS POSED IN REFTEL (A). WE WILL THEN PRESENT A GENERAL ANALYSIS OF POSSIBILITIES WHICH WE HOPE WILL PROVE HELPFUL TO THE DEPARTMENT.

2. JERUSALEM SANCTIONS AND SPRING EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING; SPECIFIC QUESTIONS POSED:

A. IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO ASSURE M'BOW THAT ENDING OF SANCTIONS WOULD MEAN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF FULL \$69.3 MILLION, COULD BE INDUCED TO TAKE LEAD IN ENDING SANCTIONS? M'BOW, AS IS WELL KNOWN, IS A HIGHLY SENSITIVE MAN. HIS BACK IS TO THE WALL AND HAS BEEN EVER SINCE THE DAY HE WAS ELECTED DG. AT NO TIME HAS HE BEEN ABLE TO LEAD AN ORGANIZATION FULLY FUNDED. HE HAS HAD TO SCHEME, CAJOLE AND MANEUVER TO OBTAIN FUNDS TO KEEP UNESCO AFLOAT. AS WE HAVE POINTED OUT MANY TIMES, M'BOW IS A MAN OF THE THIRD WORLD; THIS IS HIS CONSTITUENCY; THIS IS HIS PRIMARY AUDIENCE. OUR JUDGMENT IS THAT RESPONDING TO AN OFFER OF 69 MILLION DOLLARS IN CONFIDENTIAL

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EXCHANGE FOR PUSHING FOR REMOVAL OF SANCTIONS AGAINST ISREAL WOULD JEOPARDIZE WHAT HE CONCEIVES TO BE HIS VITAL INTEREST. FOR M'BOW TO MOVE HE MUST HAVE CERTAIN POSITIVE THINGS TO POINT TO IN ORDER TO MOBILIZE

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HIS CONSTITUENCY. WE WOULD BE ASKING HIM TO TAKE ACTION ON BASIS OF A US OFFER OF 69 MILLION FULL FUNDING, AND UNOFFICIAL REPORTS THAT THE EXCAVATIONS HAVE STOPPED. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN M'BOW'S POSITION THAT OUR CONTRIBUTION IS LEGAL OBLIGATION NOT A CARROT. HE WOULD LIKELY BE OFFENDED IF A PROPOSITION WERE PUT TO HIM OFFERING TO EXCHANGE DOLLARS FOR HIS ACTIONS. THERE WOULD BE NO WAY SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT COULD BE KEPT QUIET AND CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF HIS CONSTITUENCY, NAMELY THE ARAB STATES AND MORE RADICAL AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED STATES, WOULD ACCUSE HIM OF BOWING TO FINANCIAL INDUCEMENT. THERE ARE ALREADY STRONG ELEMENTS OF THIS CONSTITUENCY THAT CONSIDER M'BOW TOO CONSERVATIVE. IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT M'BOW IS IN THE MOULD OF HOUPHET BOUIGNY AND LEOPOLD SENGHOR, TWO OF HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS. ALTHOUGH WE MAY AT TIMES FIND HIM MILITANT, ON BALANCE M'BOW'S VIEWS ARE CONSERVATIVE BY THIRD WORLD STANDARDS. TO MOVE WITHOUT FULL SUPPORT FROM THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THIRD WORLD MEMBERS, PARTICULARLY THE AFRICANS AND MODERATE ARABS, WOULD DESTROY M'BOW'S POWER
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BASE AND THIS HE WOULD NEVER BE WILLING TO DO.

B. WHAT STEPS WOULD BE REQUIRED TO GET M'BOW TO MOVE? THE FACT THAT M'BOW WOULD NOT TAKE ACTION ON THE BASIS OF AN OFFER OF FULL FUNDING DOES NOT MEAN HE WOULD NEVER TAKE ACTION TO REMOVE SANCTIONS. RATHER, THE QUESTION IS WHETHER CONDITIONS ARE RIPE NOW, AT THE SPRING BOARD, AND, IF NOT, WHAT CONDITIONS WOULD INDUCE M'BOW TO ACTION. FIRST, OUR BEST AND MOST RECENT INFORMATION IS THAT M'BOW DOES NOT REPEAT, NOT INTEND TO SEND LEMAIRE TO JERUSALEM PRIOR TO THE SPRING BOARD. OUR INFORMATION IS THAT THE DG, AND THE BOARD CHAIRMAN

MARTIN, WANT THE SPRING BOARD TO BE NON CONTROVERSIAL. NEITHER SEES THIS AS THE APPROPRIATE TIME TO TAKE INITIATIVES ON MATTERS OF SUCH SENSITIVITY. M'BOW IS FACED WITH A POSTPONEMENT OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TEAM UNTIL AFTER THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AND THERE ARE MANY WHO TIE THIS ISSUE TO JERUSALEM. HE HAS A NEW BOARD OF 45 MEMBERS WHICH HAS NOT BEEN TESTED; HE HAS A NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE AFRICAN GROUP, AGIBOU-KEMMER OF NIGERIA, WITH WHOM HE HAS NOT WORKED AND HIS STALWART BOSSIER-PALUN IS NO LONGER ON THE BOARD OR OFFICIALLY ASSOCIATED WITH UNESCO. HE ALSO HAS A NEW BOARD CHAIRMAN, MARTIN, WHO HAS NOT BEEN TESTED. HE HAS A GROUP OF MILITANTS, PARTICULARLY ARABS AND AFRICANS WHO HAVE ACCUSED HIM OF KOWTOWING TO THE US AT NAIROBI. THE ARABS KEEP VERY CLOSE TABS ON JERUSALEM; THEY ARE VERY MUCH AWARE OF GOI'S REFUSAL TO MAKE ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT ON JERUSALEM, AND THERE HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL RUMORS THAT NEW EXCAVATIONS ADJOINING THOSE OF PROFESSOR MAZAR'S WILL SOON BE UNDERTAKEN (SEE REFTTEL (F). FINALLY, THERE IS THE PROSPECT OF ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL AND SOME UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHAT WILL FOLLOW.

THEREFORE, BALANCING THE RISK AGAINST THE POSSIBILITIES
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OF SUCCESS, M'BOW WOULD CONCLUDE THAT NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO MOVE. HE WILL NEED TO CONSOLIDATE HIS LEVERAGE ON THE AFRICANS AND ARABS AND HE WILL WANT TO SEE WHAT THE NEW BOARD LOOKS LIKE IN ACTION. HE WILL ALSO WANT TO SEE THE REACTION OF THE GOI AFTER THE ELECTIONS AND WHETHER THE THREAT OF NEW EXCAVATIONS IS A REAL ONE. IT WOULD INDEED LEAD M'BOW INTO DIFFICULTY IF HE WENT ALL OUT TO LIFT SANCTIONS ONLY TO BE FACED WITH NEW EXCAVATIONS. IN OUR JUDGMENT, THE UNCERTAINTIES ARE SO GREAT THAT M'BOW CANNOT BE PERSUADED, AND INDEED WOULD PROBABLY STRONGLY RESENT ANY ATTEMPT TO MOVE ON SANCTIONS AT THE SPRING BOARD.

APART FROM M'BOW'S REACTIONS, IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT IF PRESENT SANCTIONS WERE LIFTED ON THE BASIS OF CESSATION OF CURRENT EXCAVATIONS, WE WOULD RISK THAT NEW SANCTIONS MIGHT BE IMPOSED IF ANY EXCAVATIONS ARE RESUMED. THESE MIGHT BE TOUGHER THAN THOSE NOW IN EFFECT. PANDORA'S BOX COULD THEN BE REOPENED AND THE ISRAELIS SUBJECT TO AN AUTOMATIC IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS ANY TIME DIGGS WERE COMMENCED.

C. AS TO STEPS NECESSARY FOR M'BOW TO BE WILLING TO MOVE TO LIFT SANCTIONS, WE FEEL THAT : (1) HE WOULD

HAVE TO FEEL SECURE THAT HIS CONSTITUENCY IS A REASON-
ABLY EFFICIENT WORKING MECHANISM, AS IT WAS AT NAIROBI.

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THIS MEANS WORKING WITH THE AFRICAN GROUP AS HIS BASE
AND FANNING OUT FROM THERE. (2) THE EXCAVATIONS MUST IN
FACT HAVE TERMINATED AND LEMAIRE MUST BE POSITIVE IN
HIS REPORT. (3) THERE SHOULD BE REASONABLE ASSURANCE
THAT NEW EXCAVATIONS WILL NOT SOON BE STARTED -- PAR-
TICULARLY NEAR THE SAME MOSLEM HOLY AREA. (4) IT
WOULD CERTAINLY BE HELPFUL IF THE GOI WOULD MAKE SOME
GESTURE -- I.E., MENTIONING IN SOME WAY THROUGH OFFICIAL
OR SEMI OFFICIAL CHANNELS THAT EXCAVATIONS ARE
FINISHED AND (5) THE DG MUST ALSO FEEL THAT MARTIN HAS
SUFFICIENT CONTROL OF THE BOARD TO INSURE SUCCESS.

3. ACTION TOWARD "DEPOLITIZATION":

A. FIRST WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THE WORD "DEPOLITIZA-
TION" NOT BE USED IN DEALINGS WITH THE EXECUTIVE BOARD.
IT HAS BECOME A CODE WORD FOR US PRESSURE AND SUPPORT
OF ISRAEL. RATHER, PROCEDURES CAN BE PURSUED WHICH WILL
HAVE THE DESIRED RESULT AND CAN STAND ON THEIR OWN
WITHOUT USE OF SPECIAL PHRASEOLOGY. THERE ARE TWO WAYS
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TO APPROACH THIS PROBLEM. ONE IS TO SEEK PROCEDURES WHICH WILL ACT BEFORE THE EVENT, THAT IS ACT AS A SCREENING MECHANISM TO WEED OUT OVERTLY POLITICAL ISSUES. THE OTHER IS TO DEAL WITH THEM AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN PUT BEFORE THE MEETING OR CONFERENCE AND NULIFY THEIR EFFECTS BY PUTTING THEM OFF, WATERING THEM DOWN OR VOTING THEM DOWN. THE FORMER PROCEDURE WOULD WORK BEFORE AGENDAS ARE FINALLY ADOPTED, THE LATTER IS ESSENTIALLY THE DRAFTING AND NEGOTIATING GROUP AS USED AT NAIROBI.

B. POSSIBLE PROCEDURES FOR SCREENING AGENDAS. UNESCO'S EXBD HAS IN EXISTENCE THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE WHICH, CONCEIVABLY, COULD BE UTILIZED AS A MECHANISM TO SCREEN AGENDAS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON ITEMS TO THE FULL BOARD. THE BOARD, IF IT ACCEPTS THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, COULD THEN RECOMMEND DELETION OF ITEMS FROM THE AGENDA. USE OF AN EXISTING DEVICE WOULD PRECLUDE FORMING A NEW COMMITTEE OR ATTEMPTING TO USE THE 45 MEMBER BOARD FOR SUCH AN EXERCISE. EXPANSION OF THE MANDATE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE WOULD BE NECESSARY AND THIS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE THE FORM OF A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE BOARD. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AS PRESENTLY COMPOSED IS REPRESENTATIVE AND MEETS REQUIREMENTS OF GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION. THE REAL PROBLEM WOULD BE HOW TO ATTAIN THE DESIRED END.

C. STRENGTHENING OF THE DRAFTING AND NEGOTIATING GROUP. IN EFFECT, THIS WAS THE INNOVATION PUT FORTH BY M'BOW TO "DEPOLITIZE". IT WORKED WELL AT NAIROBI AND SHOULD BE INSTITUTIONALIZED. HOWEVER, THE DNG HAS AROUSED STRONG FEELINGS, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE EAST EUROPEANS WHO SEE IT AS THE SINGLE MOST DIRECT THREAT AGAINST THEIR USE OF UNESCO FOR PROPAGANDISTIC PURPOSES. THEY CAN BE EXPECTED TO FIGHT HARD TO CURTAIL THE DNG AND WILL BE SUPPORTED BY THE MILITANT ARABS AND

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OTHER THIRD WORLD HARD LINERS.

WHETHER THE DNG CAN RETAIN ITS VIABILITY REMAINS TO BE SEEN. OUR POSITION WOULD BEST BE TO STRONGLY SUPPORT THE DG WHO IS DETERMINED TO KEEP THE DNG AND STRENGTHEN IT. TAKING THE LEAD IS NOT NECESSARY IN THIS CASE, ALTHOUGH WE CAN OFFER SUGGESTIONS AT THE PROPER TIME.

THE DNG WILL BE DISCUSSED IN DEPTH AT THE SEPTEMBER BOARD. ORIGINAL PLANS TO BRING PROCEDURES OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE BEFORE THE SPRING BOARD HAVE BEEN DROPPED.

RATHER, OUR BEST INFORMATION IS THAT A LETTER WILL SOON GO OUT TO EACH MEMBER STATE ASKING FOR COMMENTS ON PROCEDURES AT THE NAIROBI CONFERENCE. THESE WILL SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A SECRETARIATE REPORT WHICH WILL SURFACE THIS SUMMER. OUR INPUT CAN PROPOSE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE DNG, I.E. BY INSURING THAT CHAIRMEN ARE ELECTED WITHOUT REGARD TO GEOGRAPHICAL ROTATION (WHICH WOULD EFFECTIVELY KILL THE DNG) AND BY SUPPORTING THE STRONG ROLE PLAYED BY THE DG.

4. HOW TO GET A RESOLUTION ENACTED:

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A. THE KEY TO SUCCESS WILL ONLY COME UPON PASSAGE OF A RESOLUTION EITHER ON SANCTIONS OR "DEPOLITIZATION". THE METHODOLOGY IN OBTAINING A FAVORABLE RESULT IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT THAN DECIDING UPON WHAT CONTENT IS DESIRED. PROBABILITY OF SUCCESS MUST BE ACCURATELY GAUGED AS FAILURE CAN BE MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN NOT

PROCEEDING AT ALL. AS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE RESOLUTION IS TO GET IT PASSED IN MORE OR LESS ACCEPTABLE FORM IT, OF COURSE, ULTIMATELY BOILS DOWN TO GETTING VOTES AND GAUGING THE RANGE OF POSSIBLE COMPROMISES IN NEGOTIATIONS.

B. TACTICS AND STRATEGIES NECESSARY TO PASS A RESOLUTION: THE BASIC REQUIREMENT IS TO ALLOW SUFFICIENT TIME FOR THOROUGH AND COMPLETE PREPARATION. WE SHOULD FIRST DISCUSS THE PROPOSAL WITH OUR FRIENDS, I.E. THE WESTERN EUROPEANS. WITHOUT THEIR STRONG AND ENTHUSIASTIC BACKING THERE WOULD BE LITTLE CHANCE. IF THEY DO NOT FEEL A MEASURE IS POSSIBLE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE
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TO THINK THAT POTENTIALLY HOSTILE MEMBERS WOULD GO ALONG. WE PLACE THIS BEFORE CONSULTATION WITH THE DG AS THE DG HIMSELF IS MORE LIKELY TO RESPOND IF HE FEELS THERE IS WESTERN BACKING THAT HE CAN COUNT ON. HE IS MUCH LESS LIKELY TO ACT FAVORABLY IF HE KNOWS THE PROPOSAL IS ESSENTIALLY UNILATERAL. ALSO, OUR WESTERN FRIENDS HAVE GREAT EXPERIENCE AND STRONG CONTACTS OF THEIR OWN WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS. THEIR WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT US WILL DEPEND ON MANY FACTORS, SOME NOT RELATED TO UNESCO OR THE ISSUE AS HAND.

IN THE PRESENT UNESCO CONTEXT ONE OF THE MAJOR CASUALTIES OF THE CUT OFF OF US FUNDING IS THE VIRTUAL LOSS OF ABILITY OF THE US TO SPONSOR, ON ITS OWN, CONTROVERSIAL RESOLUTIONS. THEREFORE, WE ARE IN THE POSITION OF BEING THE BRIDESMAID RATHER THAN THE BRIDE. SPONSORSHIP ALONG WITH MANY OTHERS MAY STILL BE POSSIBLE FOR US, BUT A UNILATERAL INITIATIVE ON A POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ITEM -- AS ON LIFTING SANCTIONS, OR ANY EFFORT TO "DEPOLITIZE" WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT.

WE SHOULD FIRST CONSULT MARTIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXBD (UK). WITHOUT MARTIN'S BACKING WE WOULD NOT GET MUCH SUPPORT FROM OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NINE AND FAILURE TO CONSULT HIM WELL IN ADVANCE WOULD NOT BODE FAVORABLY FOR SUCCESS.

ASSUMING WE CAME UP WITH AN AGREED PROPOSAL, THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE TO CONSULT THE SECRETARIAT, PROBABLY NAJMAN OR KABORE. IT WOULD BE BEST NOT TO GO DIRECTLY TO M'BOW, THIS COULD ANTAGONIZE HIS LIEUTENANTS AND M'BOW, IN ANY CASE, WILL NOT ACT WITHOUT FULLY CONSULTING THEM. IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE INITIATIVE WILL COME FIRST FROM THE SECRETARIAT, IN THAT CASE WE CAN JOIN THE BANDWAGON. HOWEVER, WE ARE POSING THE PROBLEM

OF AN INITIATIVE BEGINNING WITH US. WE CAN THEN CALL
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THE DG TO GIVE HIS CANDID ASSESSMENT OF POSSIBILITIES
OF SUCCESS. IF HE FEELS THE MATTER HAS NO CHANCE,
OUR JUDGMENT WOULD BE TO TAKE HIS ASSESSMENT SERIOUSLY.
IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE TO SUBMIT THE OUTLINES OF A
PLAN TO THE SECRETARIAT AND LET THEM EMBELLISH IT SO
THAT IT BECOMES THEIR OWN.

ASSUMING THESE HURDLES ARE CLEARED, AND SEVERAL MONTHS
WILL BE NEEDED FOR THE PRELIMINARIES, WE WOULD THEN
BEGIN THE USUAL GOING TO CAPITALS AND LOBBYING
WITH KEY MEMBERS OF THE EXBD. AN IMPORTANT FACTOR
WILL BE HOW SUCH INITIATIVE IS INTRODUCED. OUR STYLE
AND PRESENCE ON THE BOARD WOULD BE CRUCIAL TO OB-
TAINING SUPPORT. THE QUALITY AND PERFORMANCE OF OUR
MEMBER OF THE EXBD WILL BE VITAL AT THIS POINT. AS
DEPARTMENT WELL AWARE, WE HAVE HAD THREE MEMBERS OF
THE EXBD IN 3 1/2 YEARS. OUR BOARD MEMBER WILL PRO-
PERLY INSIST ON FULLY PARTICIPATING AND OTHER MEMBERS
OF THE BOARD WILL NATURALLY GAUGE THEIR ACTIONS ON HIS
PERFORMANCE, RESPECT, AND STATURE. DEPARTMENT SHOULD
CAREFULLY AND CANDIDLY CONSIDER THE PRESENT SITUATION
BEFORE MOVING FORWARD.

5. TIME TABLE: WE WOULD URGE THAT DEPARTMENT CANDIDLY
DISCUSS POSSIBILITIES WITH AMB. BLANKENHORN WHEN HE

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ARRIVES. WE WOULD GIVE GREAT RESPECT TO HIS JUDGMENT. REFTELS CONTAIN OTHER CONVERSATIONS WHICH CAN PROVE HELPFUL. OUR BEST JUDGMENT IS THAT A MOVE TO INSTITUTE A SCREENING PROCEDURE BY STRENGTHENING THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, OR SOME OTHER MECHANISM, WOULD TAKE AT LEAST TWO SESSIONS OF THE EXBD. THE BOARD WOULD WANT A FULL AND COMPLETE DEBATE AND MAJOR PROCEDURAL CHANGES ARE GENERALLY CONSIDERED BY MORE THAN ONE BOARD SESSION. PROCEDURES FOR THE GENERAL CONFERENCE WILL PROBABLY BE DEBATED AT EVERY SESSION, STARTING IN SEPTEMBER, UNTIL THE NEXT GENERAL CONFERENCE.

6. POSSIBILITY OF AN EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL CONFERENCE: IF THE FIGURE QUOTED IN THE DEPARTMENT'S CABLE IS ADOPTED, WE WOULD DOUBT THAT AN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION WILL BE NEEDED. THE KEY, AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, IS NOT JUST THE AMOUNT, BUT WHETHER THERE ARE CONDITIONS ATTACHED. IF THE LATTER, THEN ANY ACTION BY THE BOARD RELATING TO THE CONTRIBUTION WILL BE MOST DIFFICULT.

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7. TIME AND PATIENCE MAY WELL BE THE ULTIMATE SAVING GRACE. THE ISRAELI ISSUES, ALTHOUGH IMPORTANT, ARE NOT AS VOLATILE AS TWO YEARS AGO. MOVES TOWARDS PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL DEFUSE UNESCO'S SITUATION. SUCCESSFUL HANDLING OF THE MASS MEDIA ISSUE HAS REDUCED SOME OF THE HEAT. OVER THE LONG HAUL, INCREASED US LEADERSHIP IN UNESCO'S PROGRAMS WILL PAY HIGHEST DIVIDENDS. STRENGTHENING OUR PROGRAM INVOLVEMENT, (E.G. BY UNDERTAKING SPECIAL STUDIES), WILL IMPROVE OUR IMAGE AND DEMONSTRATE THE REAL VALUE OF US EXPERTISE. CAREFUL SELECTION OF THE US EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER, EXPERTS AND MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS WILL SHOW A SERIOUSNESS WHICH WILL BE REWARDED BY INCREASED INFLUENCE AND SUPPORT. THE EXBD MEMBERS WILL BE WATCHING US PERFORMANCE AND WILL BE MUCH MORE WILLING TO MOVE OUR WAY WHEN THEY ARE CONVINCED OF OUR DEEP AND SINCERE COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO'S PROGRAMS.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS:

A. THAT WE CONCENTRATE ON KEEPING THE SPRING BOARD
QUIET AND SUPPORT THE DG, MARTIN AND OUR FRIENDS WHO
SEEM TO FAVOR THIS APPROACH.

B. THAT WE BEGIN CONSULTATIONS WITH A VIEW TO POSSIBLE
FUTURE ACTION TOWARDS "DEPOLITIZATION", ALLOWING
SUFFICIENT TIME FOR ADEQUATE PREPARATION.

C. THAT WE AWAIT RESULTS OF THE LEMAIRE VISIT WHICH
WILL PROBABLY OCCUR AFTER THE GOI ELECTIONS AND THE
VISIT OF THE DG'S TEAM ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES
BEFORE MAKING AN ASSESSMENT ON MOVING TO LIFT SANCTIONS.
IF THESE ARE SUCCESSFUL WE CAN THEN URGE M'BOW TO ACT TO
LIFT SANCTIONS AND, HOPEFULLY, BE ASSURED
OF STRONG SUPPORT FROM OUR FRIENDS.
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